



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

VOL. LX.

BOSTON, JUNE, 1898.

No. 6.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
PUBLISHERS,
NO. 3 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
EDITORIALS	125-128
Conscience and Patriotism—Vengeance and Violence—An Anglo-American Alliance,	
EDITORIAL NOTES	129-133
The Red Cross—Red Cross Ship—Sufferings of Non-Combatants—Bismarck's Opinion—British-Venezuela Tribunal—War Burdens of Europe—Justin McCarthy on Nile Expedition—Death of Mr. Gladstone—Congress of Mothers—French Peace Bureau—Neutralization of Hawaii—Philadelphia Peace Union—Edward Atkinson on War—	
BREVITIES	133
Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society	133
Annual Report of the Directors of the American Peace Society	134
In War Time, <i>Sermon by Rev. Charles G. Ames, D. D.</i>	138
Origin of the Peace Department in the W. C. T. U.	142
Two Ways of Looking at Things.	143
New Books.	143

Conscience and Patriotism.

We have been witness in the last few weeks in this country to an extraordinary moral phenomenon which promises no good to the nation. Before the war broke out there were three classes of views among the citizens of the country. One class of people believed, or claimed to believe, that war was the only right way of proceeding with Spain. They would have nothing else but the sword and shell, slaughter and desolation, to punish the Spaniards for their sins and to avenge those who perished with the Maine. To these we do not refer. They have been at least consistent, whatever their character and motives may have been.

Another class of persons believed that the relief of Cuba and reparation for the destruction of the Maine might be attained by pacific means, but that, if the pacific policy failed, war, horrible and barbarous as it is, would be justifiable in order to put an end to the inhuman condition of things near our

doors, brought on by a war cruel in character and of long duration. The extraordinary moral phenomenon to which we allude has not been among this class of persons, who have at least been consistent in their position.

A third class of our citizens, and by no means a small class,—in parts of the country a very large class in fact,—believed that the United States, considering its political character, its professed international policy of friendly neutrality, its record in the arbitration movement, its high duties to civilization of a new, pacific type, would be abandoning the essential principles of its national life and committing a crime against civilization, if it went beyond its own territory and plunged into the barbarities of war in order to remedy the barbarities brought on by war in Cuba. The reasonings and declarations of many of these were of the strongest, noblest, truest kind. We are glad to know that a portion of them have kept their faith in the hour of trial.

But what do we see on the part of many of them? "Now that we are in it," now that what they declared to be national debauch, iniquity, crime, is actually being committed, they have deliberately swallowed their professions, abandoned the categorical imperatives of conscience, and gone headlong into support of the very thing which they were denouncing as essentially wrong. We have respect for those who, from the beginning, out of generous considerations of humanity, believed the war to be justifiable, however erroneous we may hold their position to be. But what shall be said of those who, out of fear of being called unpatriotic or considered singular, have turned the light within them into darkness, and gone straight-a-way to uphold and shout for what to them is wrong?

Patriotism is a grand and noble thing, when rightly understood. But no man is a patriot, in any

worthy sense, who treads down his judgment and his conscience, and goes with his country to do what he is solemnly convinced is iniquitous. No such unconscientious service can ever promote the welfare of the nation. Men who thus belie their own moral nature can never be depended on to help lift the national life and conduct to higher levels. To proceed as these men have proceeded is to proceed on the theory that the government is infallible that its behests are always to be obeyed and its policies followed, that it is above conscience and God. Surrender at this point is the final and fatal surrender of that personal liberty of spirit and loyalty to truth and duty on which all progress in civilization rests. The great weakness in our national life, in the life of every nation, is found just here, in the lack of sufficient men and women who will sacrifice everything, even life itself, rather than be false to principle, even under the government's lead.

If patriotism means not only love of one's country, and desire and earnest effort to promote its welfare and to keep it in the paths of righteousness and truth, but also absolute and unquestioning obedience to all its governmental demands and subservience to all its policies, then patriotism becomes one of the deadliest and most ruinous of tyrannies. Unfortunately, that is the kind of patriotism too many people have. "It was all wrong, but we must stand by the country. It was a wicked thing to enter into, but now that the country is in it, we must be loyal to the country and help to fight it out. It will be condemned hereafter by all impartial historians and good future citizens, as a great national sin, but now that the government is involved in it, it would be treason to hold aloof," and so on. That is the way a slavish patriotism reasons and turns wrong into right. This has often been the cry in the past, but, thank God, there have been those whose souls could not be cried into silence and disobedience, into subservience to wicked laws and evil undertakings, and thus the nation has been rescued from one evil after another. These have been the great and the true patriots of the nation, and their like is what we need to-day, to carry our great and beloved country up to heights of purity and strength and honor which few even of the best patriots of the past foresaw.

What the country needs above all else is a patriotism full of conscience and always guided by an

enlightened conscience. Then, even though men differ in judgment, they will be able to instruct one another and unitedly to instruct and guide and save the nation. Patriotism without conscience will ruin any land.

Vengeance and Violence.

There are few people who can keep their souls up to a high level while taking part in any way in war. No matter what the purpose of the war, actual hostilities and preparation for hostilities arouse the lower and baser side of men's nature and in most men overwhelm, for the time, in considerable measure, the better principles and habits by which their lives are ordinarily governed. This fact is being conspicuously brought out in the present war. The nation professed to go into the war in the name of Christian humanity, but hostilities having begun, humanity is largely lost sight of and the watchword of the war has become a watchword of vengeance, "Remember the Maine!" It is seen and heard everywhere, in the newspapers, on the multitudes of buttons and badges which are hawked and sold in the streets, on advertising notices, in the war conversation and war speeches which are heard on all hands in public and in private. Even before hostilities began, it was much on the lips of the Congressmen who forced the war upon us. Sampson's gunners at Matanzas, when the big shells were playing havoc with the forts, amused themselves by shouting, "Take that for the Maine!" The marines at Manila went into the fight to the watchword, "Remember the Maine!", which was shouted from ship to ship until the whole harbor rang with the hoarse cry. Men on the sidewalks shout with glee to the soldiers starting on their sad and perilous task, "Remember the Maine!"

In the Boston morning papers, this May 17th, is the report of a speech made last night before a large gathering of professed Christian people by a distinguished Massachusetts State Senator, in which the same spirit is shown in a most unblushing and vaunting way, as if vengeance were the sum of all the Christian virtues. After sharply taking to task a minister of the gospel of mercy, forgiveness and love, for being faithful to his Master and warning his hearers not to be carried away by the vindictive cry, "Remember the Maine!", this Christian Senator had the conscience to say that "every American living ought to be thankful because, for the dead bodies of those Americans lying at the bottom of Havana harbor, there are dead Spaniards lying in Manila harbor." How does this differ from the ancient semi-barbarous teaching of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth?" How does the spirit of this American Christian Senator who wants a dead Spaniard for every dead American differ from